1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

(*b*) TERRITORIAL GROUPINGS

Village Area.	*Clan.*	*Sub-Clan.*	*Population.*	
Zonzon	Minyam	Fakan	227	
Sako	„	„	287	915
Zarkwai	„	„	303	
Bakin Kogi	„	„	48	
Kibori	„	Aswen	281	
Kurmin Masara	„	„	520	
Zaman Awon	„	„	243	
Zaman Dabo	„	„	785	2,687
Magamiya	„	„	480	
Taligram	„	„	226	
Giddan Wuka	„	„	152	
Gora	Agbat	Gbar Kokwak	1,200	
Kurmin Gando	„	„ „	231	1,431
Jankassa	„	Kpaisa	1,150	
Magada Kura	„	„	407	1,557
Ungwar Gaya	„	Nje	908	
Fada Tsofua	„	„	467	
Giddan Karo	„	„	226	3,115
Kurmin Dawaki	„	„	409	
Mabushi	„	„	1,105	
Ungwar Zaki	Aku	—	137	
Bakin Kogi ii	„	—	94	962
Kigudu	„	—	132	
Kwaku	„	—	599	
Gora	Shokwa	—	200	

Each of the kindreds composing a clan of sub-clan has a recognized social and religious Chief, the Magaji Elenowum, who is not necessarily (as in the patriarchal family) the oldest member of the kindred, but is the direct descendant of that branch of the kindred which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller of the kindred. He may be, and often is, junior to other members of the kindred, but that does not lessen his authority in his own domain. He is the chief priest and offers sacrifice for the kindred and specifies the dates for funerals and other feasts. All large game killed by a member of the kindred has to be brought to him to be divided as he thinks fit. He is entitled to the heads of all horned animals and was in bygone days the custodian of human skulls taken in war. He is appealed to on all matters of custom, ranks, and seniority. His advice may be disregarded, and he would then declare that he would wash his hands of the kindred and leave them to follow their own new-fangled ideas. But his supposed magical

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief [1] might, however, ask his advice, or in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred [596] consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, [624] there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social [591] functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

● 621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 56 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.
[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

near to the Zangon Katab market, were rich, and could influence the parents of women they wished to secure as brides.

Of the wives, 17 were primary and 39 secondary, i.e. 70 per cent of the wives were women who had run away from members of other sub-clans, clans, or tribes. (Of the total, 35 belonged to the Agbat clan, 4 to the Aswen clan, being wives of members of other clans resident at Kibori, and the remainder were obtained from neighbouring tribes.) Nineteen of the 20 households belonged to one kindred, which consisted of two extended families, 6 belonged to the family of Amurum, and 13 to that of Alan. The remaining household belonged to another subdivision (Awai) of the sub-clan (Aswen). The attached genealogical table shows the relationship between the 19 heads of compounds composing the kindred. The second table shows the plan of the village-area.

KIBORI VILLAGE AREA.—KINDRED—AMURUM ALAN—SUB-CLAN ASWEN-CLAN

A

(1) Occupied by the political head of the village, his mother, wives, two grown-up sons, their wives and children . (See genealogical table)	Householder Yakuba (Political Chief)
(2) Occupied by the elder brother of the village head (who had formerly been village head but resigned owing to old age), wives, son, and son's wives	Kara.
(3) Occupied by a distant paternal cousin of (1), his wives' children, and one brother	Agwabin.
(4) Occupied by sister of (1), her husband and children .	Bamai.
(5) Occupied by son's son of (1), his wife and children . .	Akut.
(6) Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (1), his wife and children.	
(7) Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (3)	Mugu.
(8) Occupied by a man of the Kpaisa sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives, children, son, and son's wives	Akut.
(9) Occupied by distant cousin's wife, children, cousin, and cousin's wives and children	Gado.
(10) Occupied by a man of Nje sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives and cousin	Jatau.
(11) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children	Buhu.

[text continues on p. 15]

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

(12) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children	Alhaki.
(13) Occupied by brother of (3), his wives, children, and brother	Sabo.
(14) The *Obwai* shrine	
(15) Occupied by distant cousin of (1)	Mugu.
(16) Occupied by distant cousin of (1) and children, son, and son's child	Aje.
(17) Occupied by brother of (16), wives and children	Baita.

B

(1) Occupied by Banhot (head of the kindred) wife and child	Banhot.
(2) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wives, children, and cousin	Kaza.
(3) Occupied by member of Nje sub-clan, wives, children, son's wives, and children	Go.
(4) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wife, children, and sons wives, and children	Angulu.
(5) Occupied by member of Kagoro tribe, wife, and sons	Agwanjon.
(6) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wives, children, and son	Sambo.
(7) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, brother, sisters, their husbands and children	Yakok.
(8) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, child, and son	Agwanjon.
(9) Occupied by a member of the Awai sub-clan of Aswen and his children	Sambo.
(10) Occupied by a Kpaisa man (Agbat clan)	Alhaki.
(11) Occupied by a man of the Morwa tribe and his wife and children	Atokan.
(12) Occupied by *Obwai* shrine	

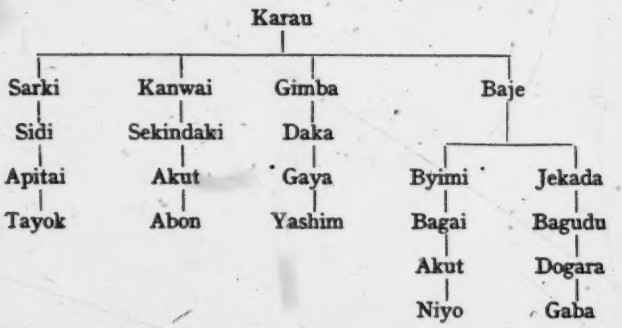
The Household.—The size and composition of the Katab household varies according to circumstances. In its simplest form it consists of the small social group of parents and children, such as in England we should describe as a family. It comes into existence when a son marries, leaves his father's compound, farms on his own account and acquires a family of young children. But as sons may not leave their parents' compound unless the father has other sons to look after him, the normal Katab compound consists of a larger group, viz. parents, sons, and daughters, and sons' wives and their children. On the death of the head of the compound two sons may agree to continue to live and farm together, and the household would then consist of a man and his mother, his wives and children, his brother, and his brother's wives and children. Owing, however, to the extensive system of adoption practised by the Katab, the composition of the household may be more complex and include paternal cousins or nephews. The household is then a purely unilateral grouping, i.e. it consists of patrilineal relatives. But there are exceptions; for it is not uncommon for a household to include a sister's son who belongs, of course, to a different clan, and is debarred

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

619 the Katab district being administered by the Katuka, both of
648 whom are district headmen of the Emir of Zaria. In former times they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chiefs of Kajuru, from whom the Kachichere Chief received the sacred sword which was, in pre-Fulani days, the emblem of office.

619 I spent two days among the Kachichere, my inquiries being merely directed towards ascertaining the character of the social
614 organization. The tribe, if it can be called a tribe, consists of four social groups: (1) the Ne-Tabin, (2) the Ne-Chobiam, (3) the Ne-Tiet, and (4) the Iningwa-Tiap.

The members of each group believe themselves to be blood
614 relatives, and as they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather, they may be regarded as kindreds rather than clans. The Ne-Tabin pedigree was given as follows:—



614 Each kindred constitutes for marriage purposes a single exogamous unit; that is to say, no Tabin may marry a Tabin,
582 but a Tabin may marry a member of any of the other kindreds.
583 There are no family totems, but all respect the crocodile and leopard. There is no grouping, as among the Katab, which permits of the contraction of sub-marriages by wife elopement. It is a taboo for any Kachichere to elope with the wife of any other Kachichere. Sub-marriages may, however, be contracted with wives obtained from neighbouring tribes.

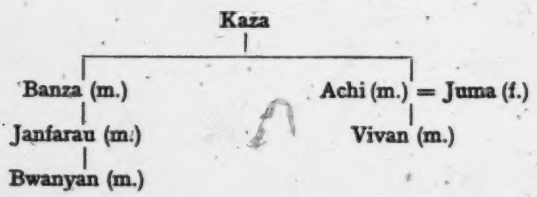
614 The kindreds are not localised, but live together intermingled
621 in a single village-area. The civil Chief of the Kachichere of the Katuka's district belongs to the Tabin kindred, and his

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

"madaiki" or second-in-command is a member of the Chobiam. Each kindred has a *magaji elenowum* of its own, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, the former belonging to the Tabin, and the latter to the Tiat. The rain-maker is known as the Atun Yevwo and performs his rites on the top of a hill. He also carries out rites to put a stop to blights by sprinkling digitaria millet on the farms.

Apart from the prohibition of wife abduction from members of their own tribe, the Kachichere marriage-laws closely resemble those of the Katab. Every Kachichere child has, however, to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments, the existing scale being 5*s*. for the first child, 4*s*. for the second, 3*s*. for the third, and so on.

The widows of a father or grandfather are heritable, and the following example of a "grandmother" marriage was obtained :—



On Achi's death Bwanyan inherited Juma, i.e. he inherited the widow of his grandfather's brother. Bwanyan was a mere lad and Juma was past the age of child-bearing, but Bwanyan slept regularly with Juma, and performed all the duties incumbent on a husband. If, for example, any aged member of Juma's family died, Bwanyan was required to send a goat for sacrifice to the senior member of Juma's family. The relationship terminology in use before the marriage was continued afterwards. Janfarau, for instance, continued to call Juma "Mother"; he did not adopt the rôle of "father-in-law" to Juma. Bwanyan similarly continued to call Vivan "Father". But had Juma borne a child to Bwanyan, Janfarau would have treated the child as a grandson and not as a brother.

The Kachichere speak the same language as the Katab.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

582 one unit of one local group will neither marry the daughters nor steal the wives of a particular unit of another local group, on the ground of some supposed relationship. This brings us to the next point, which is that each of the units of the local group is exogamous, and that a number of these units may constitute a single exogamous section of the local group. As
582 a general rule the exogamous group of one town has a uniform
621 policy as regards intermarriage with another exogamous group in another town, i.e. they either steal the wives or marry the daughters of that other group. But the rule is not invariable, for occasionally one unit of the exogamous group in one town will steal the wives of a unit of the exogamous group in another town, while another unit of the same exogamous group will marry the daughters of the unit in the exogamous group in the other town. To take a few examples, the town of Fadan
[162] Kagoro consists of eight local groups or wards, viz.: (i) Agwam (population 220), (ii) Lawat (pop. 182), (iii) Kadau (pop. 200); (iv) Mingyuo (pop. 253), (v) Mungwap (pop. 91), (vi) Akumat (pop. 42), (vii) Pagwar (pop. 25), (viii) Kachan (pop. 120). Each
[611] ward is exogamous, and descent is patrilineal. If a stranger settles within a ward he and his children are not subject to the rule of exogamy. If a member leaves the ward and settles in the bush he remains subject to the exogamous rule. Wards (i), (ii), and (iii) constitute a single exogamous group on the ground of a common origin. They would make common cause if necessary against the other wards, and they are the possessors of the civil chieftainship. Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) do not constitute a single exogamous group; each ward may marry into any other ward with the exception that wards (v) and (vi) do not intermarry on the ground of having had a common forefather, nor do (vii) and (viii). Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) would make common cause against wards (i), (ii), and (iii). With them lies the religious chieftainship. The important members of wards (i), (ii), and (iii) may wear gowns, but the use of a gown is taboo in wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii), and no one wearing a gown is allowed to attend the religious rites. It will be seen, therefore, that there is in Fadan Kagoro something in the nature of a dual organization, i.e. two inter-marrying groups, one royal the other priestly, with potential hostility between the two.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

582 621 [162] The town of Kukum contains the following wards (*a*) (i) Kutuk (pop. 224), (ii) Kasaya (pop. 236), (iii) Zupong (pop. 132), (iv) Kubwai (pop. 80), (v) Kundwak (pop. 250), (vi) Gwayit (pop. 90); (*b*) (vii) Sukulak (pop. 250); (*c*) (viii) Pagwat (pop. 100). Wards (i) to (vi) constitutes a single exogamous unit, (vii) and (viii) each constitutes a single exogamous unit. A member of Kutuk, therefore, may not marry a member of Kasaya, but he may marry a member of Sukulak. No one in Kukum may steal the wife of any other in Kukum. The members of the first six wards may marry the daughters of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and may steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. Vice versa the members of Sukulak and Pagwat steal the wives of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there was stated to be one exception, viz. that Pagwat do not either marry the daughters nor steal the wives of the Kachan ward of Fadan Kagoro.

[162] The town of Kpak consists of the following wards:—(*a*) (i) Chuot (pop. 210), (ii) Michen (pop. 168), (iii) Kuchok (pop. 205), (iv) Badamai (pop. 186); (*b*) (v) Atsuen (pop. 67); (*c*) (vi) Pien (pop. 177). Wards (i) to (iv) constitute a single exogamous group; ward (v) is also a single exogamous unit, and so is ward (vi). Wards (i) to (iv) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there is an exception in that the Kuchok ward of Kpak does not steal the wives (or marry the daughters) of the Agwam ward of Fadan Kagoro. They consider themselves related and drink beer together. Vice versa wards (v) and (vi) of Kpak marry the daughters of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there were two exceptions to this rule. The Pien ward of Kpak does not steal from the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro, as they consider themselves blood relatives and drink beer together. The Mingyuo ward was said both to steal the wives and marry the daughters of members of the Atsuen ward. I was unable to verify this, but it appeared to be an exceptional case, and it was stated that it was a new-fangled custom. If such a thing happened in the

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

582 621 olden days it would have led to fighting between the two groups.

583 It would seem that among the Kagoro it was not the practice to approach a woman's parents before eloping with her. The elopement took place first, and the parents were compensated afterwards. It was also stated that in former times if an enceinte woman ran away the secondary husband generally refused to return the child to the father. The town of Agbam consists of four wards, viz.: (*a*) (i) Kamwan (pop. 424), (ii) Kutang (pop. 321); (*b*) (iii) Kajung (pop. 300); (*c*) (iv) Mungwop (pop. 150). Wards (i) and (ii) form a single exogamous group. Ward (iii) is an exogamous unit and so is ward (iv). Wards (i) and (ii) steal wives from the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. Wards (iii) and (iv) have the reverse process. There are two exceptions, however. The Kajung ward of Agbam does not steal wives (or marry daughters) of the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro. The Mungwop of Agbam do not steal wives or marry daughters of the Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro. They drink beer together at feasts and consider themselves related. As both bear the same name and have apparently the same animal emblem they may each be a localised group of a former clan. If so they would not, of course, marry each others' daughters; but in so far as kinship is concerned there would be no bar to stealing each others' wives. Among the Katab one section of the clan steals from another of the same clan.

587 851 582 621 [162]

[162] The town of Malogun consists of four wards, viz.: (i) Kuchok (pop. 400), (ii) Machin (pop. 140), (iii) Kwam (pop. 120), (iv) Aku (pop. 300). The first three were said to constitute a single exogamous unit, but I did not verify this. All, however, intermarry with (iv) who belong to the Katab and not the Kagoro tribe. Wards (i) to (iii) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards in Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. But as regards the Aku ward of Malogun there is no fixed rule, as they are not of the Kagoro tribe. Any Fadan Kagoro man may marry a daughter or steal a wife of the Aku ward of Malogun. From the evidence given it will be apparent that the dual system of intermarriage between two towns protects the exogamous group from a breach of the kinship rules (for if you steal a wife from

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

621 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying
582 a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro.

[604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife, but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority.
[431] If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry.
[582 602] A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat
582 ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of
621 snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is
[761] said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake, but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

825 582 621 Mungwap of Agbam also respect the chameleon, and, as the two groups believe themselves to be related and refrain from intermarriage and wife-stealing, they are apparently localized groups of a single clan. On the other hand the Akumat, who do not intermarry with the Mungwop, on the ground of a common origin, do not appear to respect the chameleon. Both the Pagwar and Kachan, who refrain from intermarriage, respect a harmless species of snake which is allowed to live in the house of the priestly family of Pagwar. It appears, therefore, that on the whole the " totemic " groups do not coincide with the exogamous groups, and that if society was organized formerly on a totemic basis the totemism has broken down.

621 792 224 Each ward has its headman or " father " who is the controller of festivals and chief priest. If any member of the wards has been successful in hunting he brings the quarry to the " father " to cook. After it is cooked the " father " sprinkles some digitaria millet over it, and petitions God (Gwaza) to give the hunter further success. He then distributes it among the members of his own and the hunter's family. The man who provided the hunter with the poison by which the animal was shot is given the skin. Even in the ward of the central chief the ward " father " retains his ancient rights. He is the representative of the oldest generation and may therefore be a comparatively young man.

621 628 621 792 771 In olden days each ward settled its own affairs without reference to any outside authority, for the tribe had no central organization until it came under the influence of the Kachichere Habe of Kajuru—from whom the sword which is the emblem of chieftainship was originally obtained. If a member of one ward killed a member of another, open warfare usually ensued between the two wards. The Mingyuo ward is the priestly ward for Fadan Kagoro. They are the first to plant their crops, and are the leaders in the rites observed in connection with the harvest and the annual hunting battue. The Kagoro, however, like the Katab, do not seem to be strongly imbued with religious ideas, and there is a singular absence of organized religion. There are not, therefore, any elaborate initiation rites such as are found among their neighbours the Jaba.

727 554 The Kagoro were head-hunters. When a warrior obtained a head he put it in his bag and carried it home, where he was received with great rejoicing, the townspeople greeting him

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

The Kaje

The Kaje, who call themselves the Baju, are situated to the south-west of the Katab, and are split in two by the Zaria Plateau provincial boundary, half the tribe being under the Emir of Zaria and the other half under the Emir of Jemaa. The tribe was originally wholly administered by Zaria, being directly responsible to the Galadima of that city, and the present unfortunate bisection dates back to that period of last century when the establishment of the Fulani at Jemaa led to a reshuffling of the districts.

The Kaje consist of six localized groups, as follows:

(1) The Baiduang, inhabiting the villages of Zonkwa, Zuturu, Kurmin Bi, and Madauchi (Zaria Province).
(2) The Baintso, inhabiting the villages of Fadan Kaje, Tsofon Gidda, Fadia, Rimfa, Kafō, Zagwom (Zaria Province).
(3) The Baimbin, inhabiting the villages of Aduang, Suriang, Wadong, Kan-Kadong (Plateau Province).
(4) The Bainturung, inhabiting the villages of Duwhan, Vontong, Abet, Kanyem, Abong (Plateau Province).
(5) The Batadon, inhabiting the villages of Madakia, Azufwo, Kukwan, Furjam, Giddan Atang, Vumpang, Pong, Sosun, Kumantso, Dichodon, Zat, Zankiruwa (Plateau Province).
(6) The Banewhan, inhabiting the villages of Katsuk, Zubong, Mama, Afana, Zanberkpat, Bakin Kogi, Rakawan, Chenchuk, Kurdan, Ataiechap, Kamerun, Rikeakwon, Zauru (Plateau Province).

These six divisions may be described as village confederacies, for they are not "clans" in the accepted sense of being exogamous units. Certain informants of the Baiduang group stated that in former times no Baiduang man could marry a Baiduang woman, and a villager of Fadia informed me that he had been told by his father that formerly it was not permissible for any Faida man to marry any woman of the Baintso group. If this information is correct it would appear that the Kaje formerly had an exogamous clan organization which has only broken down in recent times. It has given place to a modified form of exogamy, based on the kinship, real or fictitious, of the local group inhabiting a single village-area. I was unable to obtain any clear evidence that village confederacies had also been totemic. It was stated that the Baiduang respected the leopard, but there was no evidence that the leopard was a totem, though one informant

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

621 825 stated that leopards embodied the souls of Baiduang ancestors. Another informant stated that the *tatong* was taboo to all Baiduang and if one was caught it was taken to the Shokwa priest of the Katab tribe, an indication, perhaps, that some sections of the Katab and some of the Katab at one time formed a single social unit.

Several of the Baintso stated that the crocodile was formerly respected by all members of the Baintso village confederacy; anyone who ate crocodile's flesh would break out into sores and die; and the use of crocodile's skin was taboo. They added, however, that the respect for the crocodile had waned. The Kaje sing numerous songs in honour of the crested crane, but this bird did not appear to be the emblem of any particular social group. It is possible that the Kaje village confederacies were totemic as well as exogamous, but if so it is clear that the clan totemism, like the clan exogamy, has now broken down.

621 582 There is one interesting and important feature about the village confederacy organization just described which would suggest that this organization may never have had anything to do with exogamy, but came into existence purely as a wife-stealing confederation. I refer to the rule that among the Kaje a member of a village confederacy may not elope with the wife of another member of the same village confederacy, e.g. a Baiduang may not elope with the wife of a Baiduang. This rule may be due to the circumstance that as the local village groups of a confederacy intermarry into each other, wife-stealing within the confederacy would lead to incestuous unions. But it is possible to look at the matter from another angle and to trace from two wife-stealing confederacies the origin of a single exogamous clan. To take an example:—

A is a wife-stealing confederacy and the members of A steal the wives of the members of B, another wife-stealing confederacy. In time B, being the weaker, suggests to A that instead of stealing each other's wives they should marry each other's daughters. Men of A would cease to marry girls of A, as those girls would have to be given to B. And thus A and B which were formerly wife-stealing confederacies would become exogamous clans. It may be objected that this is pure assumption. But as instances were found among the Kagoro of two villages agreeing to give up the practice of eloping with each other's wives and to marry

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

621 582

instead each other's daughters; and as, among the Katab, the Minyam and Agbat clans at the present day object to the custom of the Aku and Shokwa clans both stealing their wives and marrying their daughters, and assert that they should do one or the other, it will be seen that there is evidence for this theory of the origin of clan exogamy.

621 582 618

Thus the Baiduang, Baintso, Beimbin, Bainturu, Batadon, and Banewhan might be regarded as clans (i.e. exogamous clans) in the making. Whether this is so, or whether these large groups represent clans which have now lost their exogamy, the social unit at the present time is the village-area group. This group consists of one or more kindreds who believe themselves to be descended patrilineally from a common ancestor. As the common descent can seldom be proved genealogically,[1] it is apparent that the village groups, being exogamous, constitute in reality small clans. If, therefore, a section of one village settles in another area, the rule forbidding intermarriage is maintained. And thus, though normally the members of one village may intermarry with the members of any other village, there are exceptions based on kinship considerations. The people of Fadia (a Baintso village) will not, for example, intermarry with the people of Tsofon Gidda (also a Baintso village) on the ground of a supposed consanguinity. The rule of local exogamy does not, of course, prevent a man from marrying the daughter of a recent immigrant into his village. Such marriages are permissible for three or four generations, but it would appear that usually after four generations the descendants of immigrants become absorbed in the village-area group and are therefore obliged to seek consorts from other villages. In some cases, however, the immigrant family is not absorbed, especially if it is distinguished by holding some hereditary civil or religious office. The family of the Chief of Kurmin Bi for example, intermarries with that of the Magajin Obwai on the ground that the latter belonged originally to the village-area of Zuturu.

That the local village-area group constitutes in reality a patrilineal clan is shown by the rule that a man is not debarred from marrying into his mother's village provided he avoids marriage with the immediate relatives of his mother, i.e. with maternal first, second, or third cousins.

[1] The founders of the alleged related kindreds are generally supposed to have been half brothers by the same father.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

maternal first, second, or third cousins. It would appear that there is a tendency for the village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal. The people of Kurmin Bi bury their dead in the skin of a leopard on the ground that the leopard is their relative and that they become leopards at death. It was said that the people of Zonkwa for the same reason bury their dead in the skin of a red monkey, and those of Madauchi in the skin of a cat. The people of Fadia were said to wrap their dead first in a leopard's skin and then in that of a red monkey, possibly because they are of mixed origin. Unfortunately time did not allow me to follow up this line of inquiry.

Wife-abduction is not permitted between members of the same confederacy, i.e. a Baiduang may not steal the wife of a Baiduang. But normally a member of one confederacy may elope with the wife of a member of any other confederacy, e.g. a Bainturu may elope with the wife of a Banewhan. There are exceptions, however, to this rule, for two towns belonging to different confederacies may, if they are situated close to each other, agree together not to elope with each other's wives. Thus the men of Kurmin Bi (Baiduang) refrain from abducting the wives of men of Fadan Kaje (Baintso) and vice versa, on the ground that these two villages are situated close to each other. Similarly the men of Fadia (Baintso) refrain from eloping with the wives of the men of Zonkwa (Baiduang). A Zonkwa man also avoids eloping with the wives of men of Tsofon Gidda (Baintso) and vice versa. We can see here a process going on which might quite conceivably result in the Baiduang and Baintso becoming two intermarrying exogamous clans.

The Kaje relationship terminology is practically the same as that of the Katab except for the dialectical differences, which are as follows:—

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Atio	Ati (possessive atienzuk)
Ayang	Na
Ngwan	Kawon
Nanyuk	Awum
Atiowhop	Atiokwop
Ayangowhop	Nakwop
Kambwon	Kambwon
Aniat	Anian

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

Their territory is cut in two by the
101 Zaria-Plateau boundary, a circumstance which is likely to hinder
[133] or prevent the evolution of a single tribal authority. They call themselves the Ham (Ham), and under this title Koelle published
197 a vocabulary of their language some eighty years ago. A schedule of words and phrases is attached from which it will be seen that
[193] Jaba belongs to the classifying group of the Sudanic family. The prefix system is less regular than in Kurama, some of whose prefixes are of the Bantu type. The phonology is closely akin
[194] to that of the Aregwe of the Bauchi Plateau, and one of the most striking features is the prevalence of palatalization of consonants.

802 They had, and still employ, the duodecimal system of numeration, though it has now become confused with a decimal system, so that the word for "ten" is described as *sok Kpara* or "The Hausa *sok*" and the word for "twelve" is called *sok Ham* or "the Jaba *sok*".

●621 The social organization of the tribe appears to be of the
582 local exogamy pattern. Thus in the town of Kwoi each ward constitutes an exogamous group, marriage between members of the same ward being prohibited.

The Kwoi wards are:—

(1) Sarkin Turu.
(2) Makama.
(3) Magaji.
(4) Sarki.
(5) Yari.
(6) Galadima.
(7) Madaki.

It was stated that not so long ago the first five wards constituted a single exogamous group. They regarded themselves as being of one stock, and intermarried only with the members of the Galadima or Madaki wards. This grouping broke down, it is said, because the women of the Galadima and Madaki wards proved insufficient to go round the men of the other five wards, especially as parents of the outlying villages of Nok, Sambam, etc., were less inclined to give their daughters to men of Kwoi town, on the ground that the women of Kwoi town had taken to wearing garments of cloth, whereas they (of Nok, etc.) still maintained their semi-nude condition. If these statements are correct they are of great interest as being an actual instance of the manner in which social groups break

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

up, and as showing also the effect which modern conditions have on the social organization of primitive tribes. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know what regard, if any, missionaries pay to the local laws of exogamy in arranging marriages between converts, inasmuch as intermarriage of persons of the same social group is viewed by the natives as repulsive and incestuous, and people who contract such marriages are regarded as bringing pollution on the entire community.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of his mother's ward; but the usual rule applies that he must avoid marrying any close relative of his mother, e.g. custom would not allow him to marry a maternal cousin for at least three generations. There is an organized system of elopement with married women which is regarded as a legitimate form of marriage, the parents of the woman being usually privy to the elopement, and entitled to receive a bride-price. The first husband (as among the Katab, etc.) has no redress. Wives may not, however, be abducted from men of the same town as the abductor, i.e. a man of Kwoi may not abduct the wife of another man of Kwoi, but he may abduct the wife of a man of the villages of Nok, Sambam, Chori, Kurmin Musa, etc., or of some neighbouring tribe. It is even permissible to abduct a girl who is betrothed to some other man. It was stated that the fiancée could not demand any compensation.

The commission of adultery was regarded as a moral offence entailing trouble not merely on the households of those concerned but also on the entire town. It had to be wiped out by sacrifice. It was customary before war for all the warriors to collect, and if any had committed adultery he had to make a confession. The guilty parties were forced to drink a mixture of beer, excrement (human and canine), certain leaves, and some of a woman's monthly discharge. This was believed to purge the "dirt" of the adultery.

I had no opportunity of making satisfactory investigations on the subject of emblems associated with the social groups. But it appeared that the leopard was specially associated with the Madaki's ward, which is known as "the ward of the leopard". No member of the ward may kill a leopard, but leopards killed by other wards are brought to them and eaten ceremonially (by the members of Madaki's ward). Thus if members of the

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

Chief's ward kill a leopard they bring the corpse to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." Leaving the corpse on the rock, they run back home, for if they were caught by the Madaki men they would be charged with having murdered one of their number. The corpse is then taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men who skin it, using their nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by the grown-up men, young lads receiving merely some of the juice. The skin is thrown out and is appropriated later by those who had killed the leopard. All the members of Madaki's ward are believed to have the power of turning into leopards. Indeed, all the Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals. It is said that there is a female society which exists for this purpose. The senior members prepare all corpses (male and female) for burial, and during the burial-rites parents hand over their daughters to be initiated into the wer-animal rites. These rites are carried out in the sacred grove where, incidentally, all snakes and fish in the river are respected, for they are believed to embody the souls of human beings.

The interesting rites by which Jaba boys are initiated into the mystery of the *ku* have already been fully described (see page 65).

The Jaba appear to have been worshippers of the Sun.

JABA (Kwoi dialect, per Garuba)

1. Head	ritsi	rɪtsi
2. Hair	khi	xi
2. Hair	xi	khi
3. Eye	su	su
Two eyes	suko fani	sukɔ fani
4. Ear	zanto	zantõ
Two ears	zantõ ka fani	zantõ kə fani
5. Nose	fwik (i.e. bilabial f)	ɸwɪk (i.e. bilabial f)
6. One tooth	izhi wo zini	ɪʒi wo zɪni
Five teeth	izhi yuto	ɪʒi juto (the t is palatalized)
7. Tongue	lem	lɛm
8. Neck	tô	tõ
9. Breast (woman's)	imbâ	ɪmbã
10. Heart	chu	ʧu
11. Belly	hwiya	hwija

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

601 On the basis of Meek's table of kinship terms (*Northern Tribes*, II, pp. 26–7), Murdock has classified Katab terminology as "Normal Guinea" (comparable with, among others, the Chawai): according to Meek, it is identical with the Kagoro, and, save for dialectal differences, with the Kaje.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY: LEGAL PROCEDURE

613 793 622 The information available is somewhat confused. At the bottom of the scale the head of the compound or cluster of related compounds[21] seems to have considerable authority. Meek, however, indicates that the basic unit of authority is the lineage, each of which has a recognized social and religious chief, the *elenowum* (or *magajin elenowum*), a member of that branch of the lineage "which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller" of the lineage. He is not necessarily the oldest member; he may be and often is junior to other members of other branches of the lineage, but that does not lessen his authority. He is the chief priest and was formerly the custodian of human skulls taken in war; he is appealed to on all matters of custom, rank and seniority, but has no authority in political matters as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. The civil chief might, however, ask his advice or report to him the steps he had taken. The advice of the *elenowum* may be disregarded, but his "supposed magical powers would in the end conquer." Meek goes on to say that if the lineage consists of more than one extended family, each has also its head.

613 624 In addition to the social and political headships there are various other hereditary headships, always in different branches of the lineage. Among these Meek includes officers in charge of the *obwai* cult and the rain cult (see *Religion*, below), hunting "and the preparation of arrow poisons" (perhaps also the administration of the poison ordeal?), and another officer in charge of the young men "sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on" (possibly the same as the head of the *obwai* cult?). In general, Meek states, the lineages are fairly well localized in villages and hamlets, in any one of which, however, members of lineages other than the principal one may reside.

●621 648 In Fulani times and earlier the village hamlet was apparently the basic unit of administration. To all appearances, in pre-Fulani times the chiefs of Kajuru, Kauru and Zaria were rivals in the territory occupied by members of the Katab Group. After the Fulani conquest, the situation remained complex owing to the rise of a Fulani Emirate at Jema'a Daroro, but Kajuru was eliminated from the lists, and Kauru was firmly affixed to Zaria Emirate, with the Katab tribal area "as an appendage." The Makama of Zaria became the chief of Kauru's "patron" at the court of the Emir, and the Galadiman Makama is said to have accompanied the chief of Kauru annually to Zangon Katab, "when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town." Meek adds that in matters of tribute the Kauru chiefs apparently dealt direct with each village, ignoring the clan organization, "but for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty sworn on the sacred sword [of the chief of Kauru]." The sub-clan head had little authority and nothing to do with the assignment or collection of taxes, but he was "the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers," and could summon village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. He could deal with minor offences, but all important matters were referred to Kauru. According to Meek, the civil chief of the village or, more accurately, of the lineage, occupied a position "even more unenviable"; it was his business to apportion tax, which might be a horse or a slave or several according to the size of the village [lineage]. He also had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru.[23] Apart from

[21] Meek's "extended family": see particularly Meek's description of the household.

[22] Zangon Katab was the site of an important slave-market: it is recorded that the Birom of the High Plateau disposed of certain categories of criminals through sale to Irigwe middlemen, who in turn sold them in Zango. (See also *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern*

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

these imposed duties " he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded with an arrow."

Under British Administration the system has altered considerably (quite apart from the prohibition of slavery). The Katuka, living permanently at Zangon Katab, is directly responsible to the Emir; the Katab tribal area has been divided, presumably on a strictly territorial basis, into seven Village-areas, and while the headmen of six of these seem to be " heirs " of the former heads of the sub-clans and small clans, it should be noted that the old Aswen administrative unit has apparently undergone fission, and a new, seventh, head has been created, on a basis as yet unknown.

The Katuka is said to have bowed to tradition in the matter of ceremonial and procured two swords of Prussian manufacture from Kauru, which are used in the installation of Village-area headmen in certain cases; here again, the available materials are difficult to interpret, but it seems that although the Katab have never had a tribal chief recognizable as such, Minyaïn clan appears to occupy a prominent position, presumably as a result of which the Katuka has " issued " the ceremonial swords to the heads of Aswen and Fakan, who, according to Meek, " use the swords for swearing-in minor officials " of those two sub-clans only.[33]

Meek states further that the sub-clan and clan headmen " combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters." The sub-clan [sic: head?] and elders also, form a deliberative assembly. Oaths were most frequently resorted to in cases of paternity, failure to settle which, by arbitration, might end in the administration of poison to fowls representing the parties to the dispute. A women may take an oath on her head-board, " May I die in childbirth if I lie! ". Traditionally, cases within a lineage of virtually any sort, with the possible exception of murder and theft, which are likely to have been very rare, were handled by the lineage heads. Within the sub-clan cases appear to have been settled by arbitration, perhaps by a disinterested lineage head. In inter-clan disputes it seems that another clan or sub-clan might adjudicate, but the position is not entirely clear.

Inheritance

In general " a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins," but Meek records exceptional cases where a sister's son received a share of the property of the deceased, and a man inherited from his maternal grandfather's widow. Females do not inherit from males, husbands from wives, parents from children, or grandchildren from grandparents, other than wives, as indicated already. Succession is by preference first to collaterals; inheritance equally to adult lineal descendants (sons).

The Life Cycle

Birth

To celebrate the first conception of a (married) woman, a " beer-feast " is held by the prospective father " for all his own and his wife's relatives." In general there are no religious observances in connection with pregnancy, however, though a specialist may be called in to administer " medicine " from time to time. The mother is delivered—sitting on her head-board—in her husband's compound,

Nigeria). It appears that the Katab occasionally rallied " to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants", but their relationship with Kauru may well have been to some extent voluntary, as it enabled them to dispose of murderers, thieves, and possibly certain other kinds of criminals also. Whether these criminals were in effect deducted from their annual dues is not clear, but it seems unlikely.

[33] On the other hand, Meek adds that " no village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword," so that it seems possible that between them the heads of Aswen and Fakan may play an important part in confirming all the Village-area heads of the Katab tribe.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

IKULU

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Little information is available concerning the people generally termed Ikulu or Ikolu in the literature.[47] According to Brice-Smith, they call themselves *Ankulu*: the meaning of this name is not indicated.

The latest population figures available for Zaria Province as a whole (N.A. Census of 1948–9) indicate that the Ikulu tribe is found exclusively in Zangon Katab District, where they number 5,961: the bulk of these are found in the northern quarter of the District, north of the main centres of Kaje and Katab concentration, but their hamlets and farms are reported to be intermingled with farms of Kaje (and Katab) pioneers pushing forward out of the more thickly settled areas to the south, and those of Kamantan, to the west. Predominantly Ikulu Village-areas are (figures returned *c.* 1948): Anchuna, 1,596; Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956; Padan (=Fadan) Ikulu, 1,042; total, 5,594. Besides Ikulu in the north, however, there are a number of communities to the south and east of the District among Katab, Atsam, and others: many of these appear to have been absorbed by the local society, but in some cases (e.g., Kwiambana Ikulu, in Pari Village-area of Chawai) they appear to have preserved their identity; it is not known which if any of these emigrant Ikulu are included in the 1948–9 total for the District (and Province).[48]

Before the Ikulu of Kachia District were transferred to Zangon Katab, *c.* 1925, the three Ikulu Village-areas named above appear already to have emerged as distinct entities, with recognized heads; further, they appear to have simply absorbed the Ikulu hamlets which came to the District from Kachia. The possibility that Kamuru may occupy the position of *primus inter pares* is discussed below. It should be noted that the Ikulu Village-area heads do not administer the immigrant Kaje among them, according to Reynolds: these Kaje are still dependent on their parent villages in the south, through which they continue to pay their taxes.

Meek states (in MS. notes) that the Ikulu are sub-divided into four "wife-stealing" units[49] distributed among the villages—which are basically exogamous units (cf. Kaje, below)—as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*
Ekawranyi	Dissin
	Ungvya
	Unduru
	Ikum
Unchera	?
Ampak	Balto
	Ansong
	Lisum
Ayinti	Kunyekuni
	Kito

Of the villages named, only Balto can be tentatively identified as Bato, in the immediate vicinity of Fadan Ikulu. It may well be that the villages of each "wife-stealing" unit are interspersed among those of the remainder, but it is not

[47] In a report, "Ethnographical notes on Wurkun District, Adamawa Province," Meek refers to Ikulu as "the Ba-Kulu of Zaria Province": in *Tribal Studies* he notes that "the Kaje . . . call . . . the Ikulu the Bakulu," whence, apparently, he has adopted the name.

[48] Kwiambana Ikulu in 1950 had a total population of 161; adult males, 35. See also below.

[49] Presumably units outside of which secondary wives must be sought, though the term appears to be used in both inclusive and exclusive senses. Meek notes also that a man does not seek a secondary wife in a village from which he has taken a primary wife: it is not clear from this whether the "wife-stealing" unit is endogamous, perhaps, so far as primary marriage is concerned.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

known whether the Village-areas themselves are compact territorial units, or whether the component hamlets of the three areas named are, perhaps, interspersed. It may be that each of the four "wife-stealing" units is to be found exclusively in a single Village-area, and the fact that there is one more "wife-stealing" unit than there are Village-areas does not preclude this possibility (cf. Agbat Kokwak and Shokwa, among Katab).

The apparent breakdown of the Aswen sub-clan, Katab tribe, into two equal political units (Village-areas) has been mentioned already. One of these, called Taligan[50] by Administration, may represent the emergence of a self-conscious Ikulu community in the Katab tribal area, though it seems more likely that it is simply a new Minyam sub-clan, and that "Ikulu" of Katab are "more Katab" than ever.

Traditions of Origin: Affiliations: Cultural Details

Nothing is reported directly concerning indigenous traditions of origin. The earliest speculation on the subject appears to be summarized by Temple, that Ikulu (as also Kamantam; see below) are "off-sets" of Kadara. Meek quotes the Kadara chief of Ankuwa (Kachia District) to the effect that Kadara, Ikulu, Kaje, and Srubu "are of the same stock" (Ikulu were actually counted as Kaje in the Census of 1931); one report states that there are ties (nature not specified) between the Kadara village of Agunu (Kachia District) and Ikulu.[51] In any case these tribes have certainly influenced each other as close neighbours, and the Ikulu are said to have introduced mat-weaving—typically a Kadara craft—into the Katab area. A closer linguistic affinity between Ikulu and Kadara may also be implied by Meek's description of Ikulu as "a section of the Kadara tribe."

Culturally, Meek declares Ikulu to be in all respects a participant in the Katab culture-complex,[52] with the exception that a man does not contract affinal marriage with his father's widows,[53] and that in the case of secondary marriage divorce is possible.

Distinctive cultural traits noted by Meek are as follows: as among Katab, the child is delivered in the father's compound and the mother returns to her parental compound for an undisclosed period after one or two months. A girl's marriage—including the collection of marriage-payments—is arranged by her paternal grandfather or by her father's elder brother. Formerly, marriage was by capture, without the girl's consent, and payments were made afterwards. A common grave is used by members of a family: though contrasting with general Katab practice, common graves are used by both Kadara and Kurama (formerly). The high god is termed *Agwa pan*, which Meek translates "lord of the moon."[54] There is said to be an annual spring festival (concerning which no details are given) and at acha harvest farms and houses are sprinkled with porridge made of the new corn. There appears to be a *dodo* cult among Ikulu identical with the common Katab *obwai*.[55]

Ikulu, like most of their neighbours, were apparently head-hunters.

[50] At Kwiambana Ikulu, in the Chawai tribal area, there appear to be two exogamous units, Ambaro and Taligan, which name is patently the same as that of the Katab Village-area. It is not clear, however, whether the Taligan of Kwiambana brought their name from the Katab Village-area or whether both brought the name independently from Ikulu.

[51] None of the names of villages and units cited above corresponds with names listed by Smith among either Ajure or Adara (Kadara proper) of Kajuru District, to the north, to indicate ties in that direction.

[52] Including even the *oyam*, apparently: Meek notes that Ikulu do not intermarry with northern Kadara of Kajuru (perhaps Ajure is meant) because Kadara women are naked.

[53] Their disposition is not indicated, though senior and junior levirate marriages obtain, as among Katab.

[54] Cf. Kaje, etc., *Agwam*, chief, Kaje *fuan*, moon. Katab and various other members of the group seem to have a high regard for the moon, though the Katab high god appears to be primarily a rain god.

[55] A. D. Percival, writing in 1932, describes the Ikulu *dodos* and states that "their ritual and their tall houses have . . . been spread by purchase throughout Katab." He is the only

2; Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

622 not a traditional entity." Smith's field data bear out Cole's statement that in 1905 the ritual leaders designated a man of Kamang when the British enquired after a chief. It would appear that the chieftaincy developed in a contact situation, and it seems to be more than a mere coincidence that a man of Kpashan, the "ritually inferior" moiety should have been put forward, when such a move is seen to conform to a pattern to which the well attested exceptions are rare.[73] Smith notes that the chieftaincy has progressed in two generations "from . . . a thing of derision" to "an object of competition," and states that the present chief has developed a 622 system of councils integrated with the clan organization and with the two main 623 groups produced by culture contact, the village chiefs, and the literate young men. Three delegates—the village chief, a village elder, and a literate young man—are selected by each village council, and these delegates meet with the chief every three months to form the tribal council, in which common affairs of interest are discussed and proposals made. Village councils are composed of three similar persons from each clan—the clan head, another elder, and a literate young man—but meet under the village chief more frequently. Proposals accepted by the tribal council are referred back to village councils and, from them, go to the level of clan discussion, the popular feeling being expressed at the next meeting by the delegates, when decisions for action are taken.

361 No detailed information is available on form of settlement, though the implication of all accounts seems to be that compounds and *kwai* are fairly widely scattered, apart from a few concentrations (as at Fadan Kagoro in the vicinity of the railway station): this situation is incident to Administration's dispersal, early in this century, of the hill villages (in all probability, more compact), to the local system of land tenure and to farming methods (shifting cultivation). No Kagoro village to-day is anything like simple in structure: of the villages analysed above only Dussai, Kadarko, Mafok, and Makabun are entirely Ankwei (no village is entirely Kpashan), and each of these constitutes a collection of *kwai*, while the remaining seven villages are structurally complex entities with representatives of both moieties.

●621 In general, it appears that one Ankwei *kwai* in each village is recognized by all other *kwai* in the village as ritually paramount:[74] each *kwai* has its own leaders, but 618 the leaders of the paramount (because senior in the area) *kwai* in the past, at least, were the leaders of the village; according to Smith, each village has responded to Administration by casting up a civil or secular chief, whose prestige and authority have steadily grown to some extent at the expense of the power of the priests.[75] At the present time the chief duty of the "community-chief" (title, *agwom*) is "to provide members of the community with land and house-sites for settlement."[76]

621 Similarly, what might be termed a secular territorial unit has emerged to mediate between the *kwai*, as a territorial unit, and the village: this is the ward (Hausa, *ungwa*), a unit which Smith appears to regard as having been defined entirely arbitrarily and by Administration. It would seem that a ward may include within its boundaries several contiguous *kwai* or even lineages, whether or not related, thus cutting across *kwai* boundaries."[77] It is strongly implied, if not stated, that these wards have civil heads.

793 The title of the chief priest of the village is *tienwhop*, to use Smith's ortho-

[73] Cf. footnotes on Warjawa organization in Gwaram (Kano), p. 26, above.

[74] How Kata lineage of Kadau *kwai*, Kpashan moiety, at Fadan Kagoro, shares in Ankwei ritual (see p. 90, above) there is not specified.

[75] No information is available regarding the principle upon which this functionary was originally chosen (especially the moiety from which chosen).

[76] It is surprising that the *agwom* should be a recent innovation in view of Kagoro's tradition of a Plateau origin; among Aten and Birom in their Plateau homeland, *gwom* = priest chief. Data from Kaje tribe, as from Katab, appear to agree with Kagoro in this.

[77] Smith indicates, however, that though in the villages members of a clan may share a clearly defined area, the farms of members of distinct *kwai* are commonly interdigitated, outside the villages. Cf. discussion of wards in Ningi District, p. 15, above.

The Katuka has administrative, but not judicial functions. In the normal course of events his duties are limited to the collection of taxes, and the installation of hamlet-heads (Village-area heads are installed by the Emir). The Wakili in general simply relays instructions to Village-area heads from the Katuka; the official scribe is in charge of the tax census of the area. 631

The post of Village-area head (Magaji) is a new one, dating from the time of the transfer of certain Kaje villages from Jema'a to Zaria. The Magaji transmits instructions from the Katuka to the hamlet-heads of his area. He has his own police force, and several titled messengers. Judicially, also, he has some authority, can settle minor disputes and inflict small fines. Further, disputes between members of any single hamlet in his area may be brought before him when the hamlet-head concerned is unable himself to effect a settlement. If similar difficulties arose between two Village-areas both Magadai concerned would meet and attempt to reach a friendly settlement: if their efforts failed, the matter would then be brought to the tribal court, of which all Magadai are members, three constituting a quorum: appeal from the tribal court lies with the Emir. It is said, however, that in relation with the hamlet-heads the authority of the Magaji is recognized but limited. He can exert authority only through them (outside his own personal hamlet) and will take no part in the collection of tax in their areas. 622 692

Major emphasis is laid on the duties of the hamlet-head as collector of taxes, a percentage of which he receives. He is also responsible for seeing that public works are performed within his own area. As suggested above, he also has certain judicial functions, particularly in secondary marriage, where he takes the girl and her father to the magaji, when *idda* begins and also when it ends.[111] For this he is given approximately five shillings.

The Madaki may be characterized as a lesser edition of the hamlet-head. 623

According to Reynolds: "None of these civil heads has a recognized council, but all informally consult with influential elders and senior relatives, particularly in affairs concerning tribal custom, when disputes arise: as will be seen, this is less surprising when it is learned that local groupings of all sorts are also kinship groupings, as a general rule."

As already indicated, the "tribal sections" or clans are localized (see table, above). These are segmented into a number of successively smaller, less comprehensive lineage groups, down to the "minimal lineage", the extended family inhabiting a single compound: all these likewise constitute local groups, the lineage of second order ("major lineage") generally occupying a single village or hamlet (and being most often the exogamous unit), and that of the third order ("minor"), a ward. Thus, it will be seen that the Village-area head is the organ of a body of kinsmen, and the hamlet-head one of a still more tightly knit group, closely related to all his ward heads within the hamlet. 614 621 613

Fusion as well as fission, however, occurs among Kaje as among Kagoro; immigrant lineages are reported assimilated to lineages traditionally "of one language," maintaining in effect a kinship relationship alongside a local relationship and a tradition of alien origins. 613

Before conquest by Kajuru and/or Fulani, the effective grouping in Kaje society seems to have been the clan, as a "maximal lineage", authority in which was vested in the *atiyinhwap*, or approximately "father of the group" (cf. Kagoro, above), still recognized as a ritual authority and held to be directly descended from the founding ancestor through primogeniture. His position normally passes from father to son or from elder brother to younger. If the latter, the son of the elder brother would inherit the position on the younger brother's death. The *atiyinhwap* is the final authority in all matters concerning the welfare of the lineage, offences involving mystical sanctions, rites for fertility and rain or for warding off death and disease. After he has spoken, nobody would dare to disobey for fear of incurring mystical retribution. Similarly, within the major lineages which compose the clan 614 613

[111] Re *idda*, see Kagoro, p. 100, above.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

areas, Zonkwa and Zuturung, are reported to have contracted secondary marriages with wives of men in the other.

Baimbin: men of the drum: The six major lineages appear to be exogamous units at present: it is perhaps noteworthy that in Suryan Village-area only Kanakada is a composite hamlet, its residents divided between two major lineages. Baimbin section, that is, Suryan Village-area, is the " wife-stealing " unit.

Bainturung: settlers: Bainturung, which appears to be completely alien in origin, is composed of two maximal lineages, Amabat and Farman, with no tradition of kinship apart from extensive intermarriage. Originally the maximal lineages were the exogamous units, now the major lineages. Bainturung (Gidan Jatau Village-area) is the " wife-stealing " unit. The post of Village-area head is held by Farman.

Baintsok: men of the little hill: Four of the six major lineages are to be found in Fadan Kaje Village-area, one predominating in each of the three constituent hamlets, and one divided between two of them. The remaining two are located in Fadiya Village-area, where in general the minor lineage corresponds to the hamlet. As regards the *atiyinhwap*, the two Village-areas constitute a single unit. In Fadan Kaje the head of the Village-area is chosen from a relatively senior minor lineage of the same major lineage as the *atiyinhwap;* in Fadiya from a junior minor lineage of the single Kaje lineage there (as opposed to the aboriginal, adopted lineage, at Kahon, in that Village-area).

Banewhan: men of the mountains: This is the most complex section, being composed of a number of wholly disparate units, of origins apparently as varied as those of the component parts of any other section of the tribe. Banehwan has two maximal lineages, Sokwap, restricted to the Kamuru Village-area (Kamurun Kaje); and Potwak, distributed among Marsa, Gidan Tagwai, and Afana Village-areas. Minor lineages appear to be localized; each major lineage within the section generally constitutes an exogamous unit. Each of the four Village-areas constitutes a separate " wife-stealing " unit.

Batadon: men of tadon: Batadon consists of eight component lineages. In general, each major lineage forms a single hamlet. Reynolds notes as apparently exceptional that *atiyinhwap* and *gado abwai* (*obwai* priest) are held by the same person. The major lineage is the exogamous unit here, as elsewhere. Secondary marriage units are not so clear-cut, indicating that perhaps the hamlet is in process of emerging as the " wife-stealing " unit.

It will be seen from the above accounts that primary marriage rules and the structure of sections would permit of sectional endogamy, whereas in a majority of cases secondary wives must be sought outside the section. Such wives may quite frequently be taken from neighbouring tribes (see also below). In war, Kaje differentiated between Kaje, Kagoma, Jaba of Kwoi, and Ikulu on the one hand and Kagoro, Kamantan, Katab, and Jaba of Kachia on the other. When war was resorted to a single minor lineage on both sides refrained from fighting, and in the end joined together to negotiate a settlement.

Totemism

According to Meek, there is apparently a tendency for the Village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal, but present-day evidence does not support this. Reynolds found persons admitting to " taboos " on animal species, but taboos inherited through the mother and not the father. It is therefore possible for all uterine members of a compound to have the same taboo, and the mother's female children give this taboo to their children.[114]

[114] Reynolds found similar matrilineal totemic groupings among Chawai, reported in *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria.*

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

Social Structure: Local Organs of Authority

At the time of the transfer of Jaba District from Jema'a Division to Zaria Province, in 1934, it was stated that the District comprised "27 villages[135] whose heads are directly responsible to the Pop Ham [chief of Jaba]," a situation comparable to that seen in Moroa; a current list of Village-areas was not accessible in Zaria, but various reports suggest the possibility that a smaller number has emerged in recent years as a result of reorganization.

According to Meek, the village constitutes the group within which a man may not seek a secondary wife. He indicates that there are further administrative and social sub-divisions, "wards" (=hamlets? cf. Kagoro, farther above), these being exogamous as well as local groupings; but Cole stresses the fact that "kindreds" (that is, kinship groupings of the largest scale) are dispersed among two or more villages (perhaps sometimes not even contiguous), as a general rule.

A report made in 1933 by Barnicot states that in Kachia District Jaba are divided into five "clans" and "six Village-areas." In 1949 Cole gives five Village-areas, each equated with a "kindred." What order of kinship grouping the hamlet constitutes in Kachia is not known.

In Kagarko District, Jaba are found in three Village-areas dominated by other tribal groups; in Yeskwa they are settled with Yeskwa in two Village-areas. In Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate (Plateau Province), Kano, Kirti, and Kusan are currently identified by Administration as Jaba; they are separated from Jaba District of Zaria by Kagoma tribal settlement, and it is noteworthy that until 1934, at least, and possibly even more recently, these same villages were labelled Kagoma by all investigators.

A Jaba tribal court was organized in Jaba District in 1935, and appears to have been designed to serve the entire Jaba community of Zaria Province, both in and out of the Emirate; but data from Kachia District indicate that Jaba there may have recourse to the local Native Court (Kadara-Kuturmi), on which elders representing all clans of Kachia Jaba sit. On the other hand, decisions taken in Jema'a Emirate with respect to Jaba there are known to have been reversed in conformity with advice given by Pop Ham.

Life Cycle

Birth

According to Temple, "the Jaba believe that the souls of the dead can enter the womb of a living woman and be reborn" (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below). At birth the mother and child are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day the child is taken from its mother's hut and named (by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl) in the presence of the women of the compound. Twins, however, are not named till the seventh day, when elders of the village—and so, presumably, of the large-scale kinship unit—meet to perform the ceremony and partake of a feast provided by the father.

Temple states that a girl is betrothed at birth, claimed by right by the first eligible man to see her (cf. Katab and Kaje).

Initiation

It is not stated whether circumcision is in fact a practice of Jaba: Meek states only that "initiation rites . . . have no connection with circumcision." Initiation of boys takes place between their ninth and eleventh years. A boy's maternal uncle acts as his sponsor, providing "the preliminary fee of one chicken": Meek fails to indicate, however, whether initiation in effect unites the tribe, at Kwoi, perhaps, or

[135] A total of 27 villages in the District is listed in the Village Directory of the 1931 Census; three of these are recognized by Administration as Lungu. The largest are: Chori (2,219), Kwai (Kwoi) (3,700), Nok (1,080), Samban-Gida (1,043).

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

648 175 Their first acquaintance with the Filane was when some settlers of that race came to their country at Kachicharri and paid certain irregular tribute of cattle to the Kaje.

At the outbreak of the Jihad, however, they were invaded by the Filane who came and settled near Mount Daroro. The Kaje decided to wipe them all out, but the plot was betrayed by the Filane concubine of Sarkin Indema and her compatriots escaped. She, herself, suffered condign punishment, being thrown into a hole which was filled up with stones and she was thus buried alive.

When the Filane settled at Jemaa in the same neighbourhood, the Kaje again tried to turn them out, circ. 1812 A.D., but were ultimately defeated—some of them fled into Zaria Province, and the main body to Sanga, south-east of Jemaa.

The Kaje were situated on both sides of the Zaria-Nassarawa boundary when the Filane Emir of Zaria, Abdul Karimi, circ. 1835 A.D., sent a force against them at their principal town of Kurmin Bi, to exact tribute. An arrangement was come to, but circ. 1849 Mohman Sani, then Emir of Zaria, led a punitive expedition against them and told the southern section to follow the Sarkin Jemaa, since which time they have had no recognised tribal Chief. In 1858 they were again recalcitrant and Audu, Emir of Zaria, finally broke them. Since 1870 the Jemaa Kaje have been ruled, nominally at least, by Jekada from Jemaa, and in 1912 they were induced to acknowledge the practical suzerainty of the Sarkin Jemaa and accepted, as District head, Liman Umoru, a Filane of Jemaa.

● 621 In old days each village was governed by a council of Elders and an hereditary village Chief. This office was, however, usually vacated after a few years, the Chief nominating the most capable member of his family to be his successor and himself retiring to a seat on the council. An office bearer called Tagama (Magajin Mutua) judged all disputes and apportioned farm-lands, 423 [598] 427 to which the occupant and his heirs had exclusive right so long as the land was cultivated. It was not uncommon, however, for the occupant to lease his land, practically as a matter of goodwill, for he only received a pot of beer, which lease was terminable by either party after the dawa harvest; no woman [562] might hold land.

674 681 There was a regular system of punishment of crime, but there were only three legal offences: Theft from a storehouse, murder and adultery. The two latter were alike punishable by death or by banishment.

685 A thief's family paid a horse to the village head, who was the judge in all judicial affairs.

682 A murderer was expelled from the village for two years; he was sent first to Kurmin Bi, thence to Sakwot, thence to Fadan Kagoma, where he worked on the Kogoma farms. He

cultivable. The population statistics according to the latest (1947) tax count are:—

Kagoro	...	8,999
Katabawa	...	1,713
Attakar	...	689
Hausa	...	279
Ibo	...	107
Others	...	79
Total		11,866

The Katabawa come from the neighbouring Zangon Katab district of the Zaria Emirate, the Attakar from the neighbouring Moroa district, the Hausa are mainly traders and their families and the Ibos are immigrant Railway employees.

History.

18. Originally the Kagoro lived in their strongholds amongst the high and almost inaccessible hills of the district. They had small patches of farms in these hills but their main farmlands were on the fertile plains at the foot of the hills. These farms were the subject of constant raids by the Fulani and in pre-British times were no more than a precarious utilisation of the no-man's land between the unconquered hills in which the Kagoro resided and the conquered Katab lands farther north. It was only when the British came that permanent settlement of these plains became possible.

Social structure.

19. An attempt was made to correlate the social structure of the tribe with the present day territorial sub-divisions of the district. The tribe would appear to consist of two distinct clans, the Ankwei and the Kpashan. These two clans are sub-divided into various kindreds. Except for the Kukum Kpashan with whom, for some unfathomable reason, other Kphashan may marry the Kpashan clan is exogamous and may only marry members of the Ankwei clan. The Ankwei clan is not exogamous though the kindreds into which it is divided are. The district is divided into eleven territorial (village) units. There were twelve until last year when the territorial unit of Tum, whose inhabitants are Katab, was absorbed into the senior territorial unit of Fada and thus lost its separate identity. Appendix " C " shews the occurrence, within these territorial units, of each of the kindreds. But though it was admitted that certain territorial units might contain a preponderance of one or more particular kindreds it was impossible to say, owing to migration and intermingling, that any *particular kindred or kindreds* had any prescriptive rights to the land within that unit.

Appendix C.

[p. 4]

426 the land. This being so the fact that the borrower is prepared to
572 build a house on the land and be somewhat more than a bird of passage is proof positive of the extent of the friendship and therefore something to be encouraged—a relic of the days when farmlands were plentiful and abundant and every addition to the male strength of the community was much sought after and welcomed.

425 33. Apart from the three transactions described above no other transactions affecting land appear to take place and if they do take place they would not be recognised by customary law. Individual tenure may have become firmly established; but this tenure is not absolute and is subject to definite customary restrictions and limitations.

The Authority in land matters.

622 34. When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills, the
621 Kagoro had no single tribal chief. It would be extremely difficult, at this stage, to establish what, if any, the highest single socially cohesive unit might have been—clan, sept, kindred or family group. As pointed out in paragraph 21 above, however, this is of academic interest. Whatever may have been the unit in the past there
648 remains no discernible trace of it now. The district boundaries have
423 been established by the British Administration and so have
177 the village unit boundaries; a District Head and Village Unit Heads have been acknowledged and appointed and the unit is run as a tribal whole. There is evidence that parallel with the breakdown to individual tenure of the land there has been a definite development, by consent, in the new Tribal Authority's powers as regards land matters—the Tribal Authority in this case being the District Head acting with the advice and consent of his Elders. Whether or not this development is from within or a mere copying of neighbouring Emirate custom is hard to say. It exists and it is of equal interest to the development reported in paragraph 49 of Mr Rowling's Plateau Province Report, *i.e.*, " the recoil on to intensified control ". The following examples are pointers.

423 35. All farmable lands in the Kagoro district are allocated,
311 *i.e.*, are claimed by some person or persons as being lands originally cultivated by their own immediate ancestors and therefore inherited by them. This applies to ' bush ' as well as fallow. In the past, however, swamps and kurumis were considered as being of no use for farming purposes however useful they were as hiding places in
[177] the event of a raid. They remained communal. The introduction of rice and sugar cane cultivation has now altered matters. Swamp land can now be used. It is held that any member of the village unit within which the swamp lies has the right, without seeking permission from anyone, to take up such portions of the swamp as are sufficient for his needs. Any person from outside the village

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro
Jaba

41. As pointed out in the Kano and Plateau Reports it is necessary that the greatest care should be taken when such " registration " takes place in order that no doubt can be left as to precisely what the lender of the land is giving and the borrower receiving. The need for some such form of registration could not be better illustrated than by the District Head's realisation of the need and his attempt to meet that need. Plateau Report paragraph 139. Kano Report paragraph 71. 423 689 217

42. The produce of economic trees belongs to the owner of the farm on which the tree stands. It does not pass either with exchange, loan or pledge. The produce of economic trees not on farmlands, *e.g.*, the oil palms in the kurumi, is held to be public property and anyone is at liberty to take it. There appear to be no particular or special prescriptive rights to particular persons in regard to economic trees. Sylvan produce. 422

JABA KWOI DISTRICT

43. Some distance to the west of the Kagoro district and separated from it by a spur of the Zaria Emirate lies the Jaba Kwoi independent district. Until 1934 it was administered as part of the Plateau Province. In that year, however, it was detached from the Plateau Province and became an independent district of the Zaria Province within which the rest of the Jaba tribe reside under Emirate control. The Emirate boundary thus divides the Jabawa of whom there are about 24,500, 14,000 of whom live in the independent district and 10,500 in the Kachia district of the Zaria Emirate. This Emirate boundary marks the boundary between those Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and those who continued to resist and retained their independence by hiding in the once thickly forested valleys of their district. 101 131 [161] [648]

44. The attempt to relate territorial village units of the Jaba Kwoi independent district with separate kindreds or family groups was here, as with the Kagoro, abortive. Whatever may have been the basis of land tenure in the past there can be no doubt that it is now, in the great majority of cases, individual. The family or extended family holding of land is abundantly less common than that of the individual. The reason for this state of affairs lies, as with the Kagoro, in the continual harrying and dispersal of the original inhabitants by the Fulani. Kindred lands were of necessity widely fragmented and with neither the cohesion of a settled existence or of a compact living space the kindred holding concept was undermined. Support for this theory is very evident in the fact, reverted to in paragraph 63 below, that the Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and consequently were not widely scattered and harried still retain this concept and still have compact lands. Breakdown to individual tenure. 621 423

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563 58. The Kaje elements to be found in this district live near the eastern border adjoining the main body of the Kaje tribe living in the Zangon Katab district. They live partly within the Hausa enclave—the Gumel and Mazuga villages—and partly within the Jabawa tribal lands. Those in the Jabawa area live on *borrowed* lands; those in the Hausa enclave on their *own* lands through which the administrative boundary cuts. This is a point which may lead to confusion at some future date. [61] The Kadara are similarly situated. The main body of Kadara who number some 21,246 in the Province are to be found in the adjoining Kajuru district. The district boundary runs through the tribal area—probably for reasons stated in paragraph 14 above and because a purely tribal boundary for administrative purpose would be very complicated and produce little effective difference, *qua* administration. The Kuturmi are an interesting relic. They are said to have come originally from Kano City and are a branch of the Kutumbawa who reside there to this present day.

Jabawa tenure Kachia District.

59. The pattern of tenure amongst the Kachia Jaba is very similar to that obtaining with the Kwoi Jaba. There are, however, two very significant differences. We have seen (paragraph 44 above) 184 that with the Kwoi Jaba it was impossible to correlate the social 423 pattern with the land pattern. In the Kachia district the Jaba 612 almost at once stated that their five territorial village units were, ●621 except for a minor amount of interchange, identical with the five kindreds of the tribe. The Wenyum kindred were to be found in Gidan Tagwai village unit, Dun in Jaban Kogo, Kudak in Kwaturu, Chorr in Kurmin Musa and Ngeh at Gidan Jibir. Members of the latter two kindreds, they stated, would be found amongst the Jaba Kwoi but none of the first three.

Breakdown to individual tenure less pronounced.

60. The second significant difference is in the extent of the breakdown to the individual basis. Whereas in Kwoi individual farming was the rule and not the exception in the Kachia district 184 farming on a family basis was the rule with the Jaba and individual 595 holdings the exception. This difference is well known to the Jaba 556 themselves who explain it thus. The Jaba Kwoi are a poverty stricken people who can only run to one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they can run to four or five—even ten on occasions. The Jaba Kwoi youths are an irresponsible lot who go running off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly; their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family lands. Shades of the ' resistance movement ' that lead to the ancestors of the Jaba Kwoi continuing the struggle when their weaker brethren succumbed!

61. The truth of the matter is as stated in paragraph 44 above. The Jaba who accepted the Fulani domination retained their tribal lands. They still have them. And there are acres and acres to spare. Those who resisted were squeezed into the remnants of land to the South where there was little or any to spare. Pressure of population, incipient land hunger and the spirit of independence, which must have been there, have led to the individualisation of the Jaba Kwoi and accelerated the breakdown to individual tenure. The youths would not go off to the mines if there was abundance at home on the lands available to them. Their relations across the border have had none of this to cope with. Nor did they have their social structure rudely broken up and disintegrated.

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Kindred holding of lands still existent.

62. The fact remains, however, that within the Emirate the kindred concept remains and is still operative.

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63. Amongst the Kachia Jaba the land pattern is similar to that of the Jaba Kwoi, *i.e.*, compact hamlets or villages standing in the middle of their farmlands and outside these farmlands the villages " spare " lands. The Kagoro, Kaje and Katab do not live together in villages but prefer the small scattered hamlet and isolated farms. Amongst the Kagoro all lands were " allocated ": even the spare bush. Such is not the case with the Kachia Jaba; nor would it be the case, probably, amongst the Jaba Kwoi—had they any spare lands. The spare lands form a general pool for the particular unit within which they lie, *i.e.*, for the kindred. Any member of the kindred has a right to take up sufficient of the spare lands to meet his needs; but he must first of all obtain the Village Head's consent. A Wenyum man has the right to take up the lands he needs in the Wenyum Unit and, on allocation, the lands become inheritable by his kith and kin. A man of the Dun kindred who desired to take up spare lands in the Wenyum Unit would only be loaned the lands and it would always remain a loan. It would never become land of the Dun kindred. A Wenyum man who had inherited or been allocated land in the Wenyum Unit would be entitled to loan it to someone else, either from within or outside his kindred, without asking for anyone's consent. But he could neither give it nor sell it to anyone else, *i.e.*, he could do nothing that would deprive the kindred of its ultimate rights in the land.

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Sub-division and inheritance.

64. Though the normal procedure is for farms to remain undivided until the father's death nevertheless, if a son demanded it and was married and of sufficient standing, the father would have to give him his share of the family holding. Women have no share or rights in a farm. Both farm and fallow are divided up; but there is no question of unallocated lands being divided up. A farm once

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[f. 18]

probably explains why the Katab scene consists of so many isolated single compounds widely scattered throughout the country side. There are no large villages or small towns.

84. There are few aspects of the Kaje land tenure system which would not be familiar to either the Katab or the Kagoro. There is the same gradual breakdown to an individual basis—though perhaps not to the same extent; the same denial to the individual of any right to alienate permanently lands which he has inherited and is expected to pass on to his inheritors; the acknowledgement of a system of loaning with the token brewing of beer—a social obligation; the same attitude to the building of a house on borrowed lands and the same grace period for farming after he has removed his house. Pledge is not known. Kaje tenure.

85. The principal deviation from the Katab is in the vesting of the final authority in land matters. Here the Kaje system is almost identical with the Jaba of Kachia. The kindred as distinct from the tribal elders claim the final say. Authority in land matters.

86. Details of the kindreds and the territorial village units are:—

(*i*) Tsok—Fadan Kaje
Fadia
(*ii*) Dwan—Zuturu
Zonkwa
(*iii*) Turun—Firman
(*iv*) Tadon—Madakia
(*v*) Bin—Suriyan
(*vi*) Afwun—Afana
Ungwar Rimi
Marsah
Kamerun

[It is of interest to note, in parenthesis, that my anthropology may be a bit wrong. On returning from the area the following reference from an old report by Brice-Smith was discovered (1922):—

" The tribe is still in the family stage of evolution. As soon as an individual has made his position sufficiently strong by marriage he moves off and starts a hamlet by himself and no longer recognises the tribal head ".

He correlates the ' clans ' and territorial units as:—

Bainduang (leopard totem)—*Zonkwa*, *Zuturu*, Kurmin Bi. Madaichi
Bainteo (crocodile totem)—*Fadan Kaje*, G. Tsofuwa, Rumfa, Kafo, Zagwon, *Fadiya*

Kaje
Hausa MS12

K
612 and points out that with the " Baintso and Bainduang exogamy is
621 breaking down ". A further report in 1932 which was also
614 discovered refers, however, to five clans—Baindon, Baichok, Baibai, Baituran and Kahon. The prefix Bai is, of course, " the men of " I have used the ancestral name. These correspond respectively with (*ii*), (*i*), (*v*), (*iii*) and (*iv*). There appears now to be a new appearance in Afwun. As, however, these reports refer to clans whereas I refer to " kindreds " there may be no discrepancy at all and the appearance of a new kindred is no more than a development on the lines of Brice-Smith's description. It is a detail which does not affect the general issue.]

K
691 87. I was informed that in the case of a land dispute arising
627 in Afana the elders of Afana would try to mediate and settle. They might even attempt to administer the oath on the " drum ". Either disputant would, however, have the right to refuse to take the oath and the matters would then go to the elders of Afwun. There would be no appeal beyond that. The elders of Afwun would administer the oath on the " drum " and the matter would be finally settled. Neither Tsok, Dwan or any other of the kindreds would be consulted. So, it was stated, would each of the six kindreds act. Such matters would not come before the Native Court unless there was an actual ' breach of the peace ', *i.e.*, a fight. In this case the ' breach of the peace ' would be dealt with by the Court. But the cause of the breach—the farm dispute—would still be settled in the customary manner by the tribal elders.

Other tribes.
000 88. In view of the great number of tribes present in the Province it would be impossible to give in detail, without many months of investigation, the precise land tenure system of each tribe. Sufficient has been written to give a general idea of the situation, however, and I have no reason to believe that examination of other areas will reveal any fundamental divergences. The broad pattern is plain. I have made cursory enquiries of members of all indigenous tribes that I have come across and these enquiries confirm the above. Cursory enquiries, however, are apt to be cursory. Confirmation—or refutation—will have to come from Administrative Officers on tour when visiting the various areas, after they have examined the local custom carefully.

HAUSA AREAS

(i) The Hausa Enclaves

H
621 89. The Hausa enclaves at Zangon Katab and Kachia may be taken as typical examples of Hausa settlements in pagan areas. The Zangon Katab enclave is described in paragraph 72, that of Kachia is briefly referred to in paragraph 51.

90. The Kachia enclave consists of three village units H 621
Kachia, Dogwarga and Sabon Kaura. At the eastern extremity of Kachia there are the two Kaje hamlets of Gumel and Mazuga and within the Dogwarga unit the two Kaje hamlets of Dogwarga Arna and Sokainu Arna. As stated above these four hamlets are on Kaje lands and the Hausa population makes no claim to these lands. These Kaje are separated, administratively, from their Kaje neighbours in the Zangon Katab district for no other reason, probably, than that Zangon Katab was in the fief and Kachia was in the fief of the Ma'ajin Zaria. K [621] ●

91. These four hamlets apart, the rest of the Kachia, Dogwarga and Sabon Kaura village units are entirely Hausa and the rights in the land belong to the Hausa inhabitants who are, for the main part, descendants of the former *mayaka* (warriors) who held the neighbouring tribes in submission.

92. The lands at present incorporated in the village units are H 423
extensive and more than ample for the needs of the present population—as are the Jaba lands to the south and the Kadara lands to the north-west. In this respect the situation is somewhat different to that of Zangon Katab where lands are becoming limited owing to increased population. As is to be expected in such circumstances no immediate problems arise from the tenurial system and transactions in land are few and far betweeen giving rise to none of the complications found where land has acquired an exchange value.

93. The writer was informed, on arrival, that the whole of **Allocation of lands.**
the village lands were divided up and belonged to one or the other of the original conquering families. There were no spare lands available for the Village Head to allocate. Any new-comer who wished to settle in the enclave would have to approach some individual, not the Village Head, and obtain a place to live and farm from him. This was somewhat surprising in view of the very large tracts of uncultivated land in the enclave and the point was pursued in some detail. Family claims and histories were investigated after which it become apparent that what were referred to as village lands were those immediately round the village and not the administrative village unit. When this distinction was established it was readily admitted that there were many square miles of bush within the administrative *village unit* which were not claimed and which the Village Head could allocate. In view of the situation described in later paragraphs about lands round Zaria City this is a point that requires careful watching. It will be readily admitted now—when lands are plentiful and abundant—that the lands originally divided up between the original *mayaka* H [425] [609]

APPENDIX C

KAGORO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Village Unit	*Distribution of Kindreds*
FADAN KAGORO	Ankwei: (1) Mingio, (2) Mogwap, (3) Kpaguwak — Kpashan: Kaiabu, Lawal, Kadan
KUKUN ...	Ankwei: (3) Kpaguwak, (4) Sakarat — *Kpashan: Katuk, Kunduwak, Kaugai
AGBAM	Ankwei: (1) Mingio, (2) Mogwap — Kpashan: Kutang, Lawal, Kamuwan
KPAK	Ankwei: (1) Mingio, (5) Atsuwan — Kpashan: Nentsuwal, Kutsok, Kawom
MALAGUM ...	Ankwei: (1) Mingio, (2) Mogwap — Kpashan: Kutsok, Kawom
SAFIO	Ankwei: (2) Mogwap, (6) Kabiokut, (5) Atsuwan — Kpashan: Kulok, Kakyit, Zafan, Kawom
KADARKO ...	Ankwei: Kanyio, (10) Kagurum, (11) Zafan, Kabun, Kikwat, Sibio, Ti
MAPOK	Ankwei: (7) Ankut, (8) Kagwon, (9) Anpi — —
MAKABON ...	Ankwei: (10) Kagurum, (11) Zafan — —
DUMAI	Ankwei: (7) Ankut, (9) Anpi, (8) Kagwon — —
BANJE	Ankwei: (1) Mingio, (2) Mogwap — Kpashan: Kutsok, Lawal

*An exception to the clan's exogamous rule.